1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

performed in either the private or main *kung t'ing* by the smaller group. Usually, it is the women who have married into and become part of the *tsu* who perform most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area. M. Freedman (1958:85) also notes that "The rites performed in the [ancestral] halls [of the *tsu*] were conducted by and in the presence of men; their daughters and wives played no direct part in the proceedings. In the home, in contrast, it is clear that, whatever the theoretical inferiority of women in the sphere of ancestor worship, they occupied a central position in its performance."

Since there are no ancestral halls in Hsin Hsing village or in the local area, this was the case. Worship of ancestors takes place exclusively in the *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* or family. Ancestor worship performed in a hall or in the *tsu kung t'ing* on certain few occasions would be public, a formal observance for all to witness and theoretically conducted by men. But more often in the Hsin Hsing area women conduct it. Ancestor worship, as it generally takes place, is on a small scale, is private, and tends to be rather informal. As a result, the women, in the presence of their children, usually take the main part in carrying out ancestor worship. As some of the villagers noted, "The men are busy, and the women are more religious anyway."

It is partially the unity of the religious family organization, which continues even after the legal economic division of a larger family, that gives the several newly independent *chia* a definite basis for cooperation and a sense of common identity. Of this Freedman (1958:23) has noted that the

> newly separated households were at least potentially members of one ancestor-worshipping unit in relation to recent forebears, and some forms of *ad hoc* economic co-operation might be instituted between them. In other words, while the formal division of house and land, which was a ritually established rupture at one point in time, created legally independent households, the relations between these households might diminish gradually in time rather than undergo a sharp transformation from involvement to indifference.

Although a joint family may not continue for many generations as a single unit, it derives continuity from the maintenance of the religious family, with its function of ancestor worship. To ensure such continuity, marriage and adoption are a primary and conscious concern. In addition to providing the family with the necessary descendants to worship the ancestors, the institutions of marriage and adoption ensure the security of the family through growth and expansion. For the parents these institutions mean security and care in old age as well as in the afterlife. "One's future is in one's children" is a common saying which has had much meaning in traditional China and which is still no less important in the changing Taiwanese village. Besides these

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

future and long-term considerations, in Hsin Hsing the needs of the present are by no means overlooked. When a family enters into marriage or adoption proceedings, the parents make the arrangements with great care, because taking another person into the family may mean extra hands for the work of the household or merely an extra mouth to feed. The new person can facilitate the building and continuation of a stronger and larger family or hasten the family's division or destruction. One other important factor to be considered is that through the extension of relationships with *ch'in ch'i* (matrilateral and affinal relatives) beyond the village by either marriage or adoption, the family can enhance its socioeconomic security and political position. For these reasons, marriage and adoption are contractual matters in Taiwan, determined by whole families rather than individuals.

MARRIAGE

While surname and *tsu* exogamy is universal in the Hsin Hsing area as well as in traditional southeast China, marriage within one's own village is not uncommon, but is clearly preferred outside the village. It is considered incestuous for any person to marry another who bears the same surname. Whether the other is actually a member of one's own *tsu* (a *ch'in tsu*) or a perfect stranger, possibly even from another part of Taiwan, the rule still holds. One may still read stories in the newspapers of the suicide in the city of two lovers whose families forbade their marriage because they bore the same surname. In the village even a mention of such a marriage is frowned on.

Except for this prohibition, however, there are no rules against marriage within one's own village. Of course, in a single *tsu* village the individual has no choice but marriage outside the village. However, in villages like Hsin Hsing with a number of surnames, marriage between villagers is not unusual. In 1958 there were about twelve cases in which the families of both husband and wife were Hsin Hsing villagers.

There are a number of reasons why, even in a multi-*tsu* type of village such as Hsin Hsing, the villagers prefer marriage with someone from elsewhere. One is that the small population of the village and the presence there of only twelve surname groups limits the individual's choice of a mate. Another less practical reason lies in the general village attitude that "It is better to marry outside of the village since marriages between two families of the same village are just not as interesting." When the bride lives in another village some distance away, the marriage procession with its musical accompaniment from the groom's village to the girl's village and back again carrying the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

T
583
551
611
428

to be inherited from her family, then no matter where the family lives, all the children are supposed to worship both sets of ancestors. If there is property, once the second child has received his inheritance he or she and the mother worship the mother's ancestors, while the father (adopted husband) and the children in his descent group worship his ancestors. When the second child (who has been given the mother's surname) is a girl, it is not unlikely that a husband will be brought in for her in order to carry on the maternal line. There are cases in Taiwan, and one in Hsin Hsing village, where a village family for several generations has become in a sense matrilineal as well as matrilocal, at least until a male heir is born.

T
[969]

Tn
583
591
178

Barclay (1954b:228–229) finds that this matrilocal form of marriage, where the husband is adopted and lives with his wife's family, has been very common in Taiwan for many years; between 1906 and 1930, 15 to 20 percent of all Taiwanese marriages were of this matrilocal type. However, the frequency of the practice has been decreasing, until in 1943 only 6.2 percent of all marriages in Taiwan were of this form (Barclay, 1954b:229, Table 69). Barclay notes that this decrease has been constant, for "when men were no longer obliged to marry on these degrading terms, they began to shun this type of marriage. Because it was inconsistent with the rest of the family system, matrilocal marriage presented a special occasion for discord—men were led to expect one kind of familial role as husbands, but required to accept another one that was inferior."

Tn
[578]

T
583
178

There are only six adopted husbands recorded for Hsin Hsing village. It is thus difficult to see any tendency toward or against the practice in Hsin Hsing village itself. These six adoptions have taken place since approximately 1900, and according to the present ages of the surviving men, four were adopted into the village well before World War II and only two were adopted afterward. These same records show that only one Hsin Hsing villager was adopted out of the village between 1949 and 1957.

Remarriage

T
587
[581]
[183]

According to the ideal norms of Chinese society a woman should marry only once, and a young widow who does not remarry is often greatly honored. A woman's natal family is responsible only for arranging her first marriage; any subsequent marriage is theoretically her own responsibility. The family of her first husband, whether he died or there was a divorce, also bears little responsibility for helping her to remarry.

In actuality, however, many divorced or widowed women do remarry. And a second marriage, although never given the same honor as the first marriage, may nevertheless be sanctioned by society accord-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

584
593
178

themselves of some of the responsibility in the ultimate choice, and if something goes wrong with the marriage, the parents can always remind the young people that they agreed to the match.

584
178
626

In actuality, even though many young people want some voice in choosing a mate, most attempt no further contact after the "initial meeting." The boy usually makes no effort to see the girl even if he knows she works in a field near the road, fearing that if anyone sees him they will laugh at him.

581
584

The parents of the boy make their choice on the basis of qualities which they feel will best benefit the family. Thus, they usually seek a healthy, strong, and capable girl who can do the necessary work in the house and the fields and seems able to bear children. They also want a girl who can get along with people well and who can thus adapt easily to the new household into which she comes as a stranger. The girl's family wants a son-in-law who is economically and emotionally stable and can therefore provide adequately for their daughter. Both families place equal importance on the economic condition of the bride's or groom's family and the kind of *ch'in ch'i* they are likely to make.

The choices available to a family trying to arrange a marriage are limited by their own socioeconomic standing, and the families of a newly married couple are usually as evenly matched in this regard as the bride and groom are matched both physically and intellectually. On occasion, hoping to arrange a better marriage, one family and the matchmaker may conspire to deceive the other family as to economic standing or the intelligence or ability of the son or daughter. One such marriage was arranged by a matchmaker from Hsin Hsing village between a local girl and a boy from another village. No mention was ever made to the groom's family that the girl was rather dull, not capable at housework, or even at work in the fields. The justification the matchmaker offered for her behavior was that "after all, if the couple is actually married, then it must mean that they were fated for each other, and therefore there is nothing wrong." This same attitude is occasionally adopted by people who feel they have been similarly cheated; it enables them to accept the *fait accompli* and make the best of it.

However, such attempts at deception are not at all common, and "usually a stupid person marries a stupid person; otherwise they can't get along." The villagers feel that a marriage between people who are too different is likely to lead to the girl's unhappiness. More important, they know it may wreck the relations between the two families. For example, it may end with the girl being sent back home. Another important deterrent to attempts at deception is the danger to the family's reputation and general status if they do something so generally considered improper. However, most village families hope that

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

581 584 their daughters' economic and social position will be improved by marriage or that their son will marry a girl with a large dowry. One reason the villagers give for not attempting to arrange marriages within their own village is that "after all, everyone in one's own village knows exactly how poor you really are."

584 583 It is only after the amount and kind of engagement gifts and dowry have been settled through the matchmaker's negotiations that the marriage agreement is considered definite. These gifts are, then, "like a marriage contract." The engagement gifts the boy's family sends to the girl and her family may consist of cash, a common figure being about NT $2,000, plus cloth and jewelry for the girl. When these gifts arrive, her family sends back gifts of gold, clothing (a belt, purse, and so on) and sometimes some cash. At the wedding the girl's family may return most of the gifts to the husband's family in her dowry of furniture, clothing, and even cash. However, as the villagers point out, "Usually in a marriage, all gifts considered, it costs the boy's side more than the girl's. If the boy sends gifts of cash, much of it will come back from the girl's side since her family will use the engagement money to furnish the dowry. If the girl's dowry includes a radio or bicycle, [564] however, then her family might spend more." A family's reputation may be enhanced or lowered by the worth of the engagement gifts or dowry it provides. In the unusual case that the girl's dowry is smaller than the boy's side expected, his family may treat their new daughter-in-law badly, thus adversely affecting relations between the two families.

584 465 When the arrangements for a marriage are completed, both families send money to the matchmaker. Usually, the groom's family sends twice as much as the bride's. The matchmaker is also remembered on the occasion of the birth of the couple's first son, when the couple sends her fried glutinous rice to thank her for arranging their marriage.

585 Several months at least separate the official engagement from the wedding, for which preparations are quite elaborate. Formal invita- [203] tions are sent out by the boy's family to those *eh'in ch'i* and friends in the area who have already sent gifts to commemorate the occasion. "To send invitations to anyone else would be like asking for money, and that would be embarrassing," say the villagers. The invitations are delivered personally by members of the boy's family, *tsu*, or close family friends in the village. The groom's house is decorated with red streamers, wall and door hangings, and scrolls bearing lucky sayings and good wishes for the occasion. Lengths of cloth with money and messages of good wishes pasted on them are sent by friends and rela- [618] tives and are put up on the walls of the ancestral-worship room. If the groom's family is a member of a *tsu*, the *tsu's* main ancestral-worship room is used for this purpose as well as for the ritual, even if the family has its own private room.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

585 ing toasts from all the guests. The bride returns to her room, where she
574 often receives guests who wish to meet her. She serves them "bride's
[431] tea," for which the guests give her a small red packet of "bride's
[272] money." (This is considered to be her own to do with as she pleases.) The bride's tea is sweetened, and the sugar in it represents everyone's wish for her: "Sweet, sweet, have a baby boy."

585 Since there is no religious or civil ceremony to mark the occasion, it is difficult to say exactly when the couple is considered to be definitively married. Villagers themselves disagree on the point. Some feel that the couple is married once the engagement and marriage arrangements have been made. Others say that the marriage occurs when the couple is presented at the marriage festival. Still others feel that there is no marriage until it has been consummated, and some even say that the couple is not formally married until the union is registered at the Public Office. While no single answer was agreed upon, several villagers pointed out that the marriage begins once the engagement is
585 581 agreed upon, "since at this time the two families are tied together as
612 *ch'in ch'i*, and this, after all, is one of the most important factors in any marriage."

581 Taiwanese marriage has a broader social function than marriage in
171 contemporary Western culture. It establishes *ch'in ch'i* relationships
[612] between families, it brings a new member into a boy's family, and it joins two people who then produce children. A Chinese marriage, then, does not take place as a result of a single religious or civil ceremony. Instead, a series of events, beginning with the engagement agreement and culminating in the sexual union and production of children, mark the establishment of the married state.

585 On the day after the bride arrives at her husband's village, a good-
583 luck lady introduces her to relatives and neighbors and tells her how
[177] each person should be addressed. Some people call on the family to be introduced to the bride. The girl is also taken to the other side of the village to meet any *ch'in tzu* who may live there. Later on this second day, the couple returns to the girl's natal home to attend a banquet very similar to the one held at the husband's home the day before. When she returns to her family on this occasion she is frequently all smiles, in sharp contrast to her tearful departure. The cheerful aspect, like the previous day's public woe, is probably conventional, a demonstration that she is happy in her good fortune at having made such an excellent match. But it is perhaps also due to the fact that she has been to her new home, gone through her first night of marriage, and now feels that the worst is over.

[484] The couple either travel together, in a taxi, to the girl's village or
494 separately, the bride in a sedan chair, the groom by bicycle. Usually,
[493] several of the groom's male friends and relatives accompany him.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ADULTHOOD

593 581 585 885

Marriage does not affect substantially the customary daily routine of a young man, for as a new husband he continues to spend as much of his free time with his friends as he did before his marriage and almost never allows himself to be seen publicly with his wife. (This would be embarrassing both to himself and his wife, since people would say they must be in love and laugh at them.) The boy does not usually achieve higher status nor assume many more responsibilities upon his marriage. In general, he continues to function under the authority of his father, unless a family division takes place. Many older villagers point out that the boy does not become an adult by virtue of his marriage.

851 885 593 596

Usually, it is not until the birth of the first child, and perhaps even a division of the joint or stem family, that the boy begins to settle down. He then achieves more status in both his family and the village; he feels a resonsibility for his family and ceases to spend all his spare time with his friends. He also begins to voice strong opinions about the running of the household. There are exceptional boys who, even before marriage, assume a great deal of responsibility and spend little time with their friends. Once married, such boys become even more responsible.

[461] [585]

Unlike her husband, the bride is immediately saddled with work and various responsibilities and has even less time for recreation than she had before. Like her husband she gains little increase in status from her marriage. For her, adult status is not achieved until she has established her position in the family by bearing a child, preferably a male child. Until then she is not really part of the family.[4] The villagers tell a story of a girl whose family did not send an adequate dowry with her when she married. Her husband's family was dissatisfied, and eventually she was sent home. However, when the boy's family realized that she was pregnant, she was immediately brought back and made welcome in their house. Real status and authority are achieved by a daughter-in-law when she finally assumes the role of the wife of the head of the family upon family division or the death or retirement of her mother-in-law. It is thus easy to understand why daughters-in-law often agitate for family division.

554 596 606

461 462 [574] [262]

An adult male's leisure is usually determined by the agricultural season. However, even during the harvest, when people are busiest, there is seldom rushed or harried activity. Since men can do their work only during the day, the evening is a time for relaxation during both the busy and the slack seasons. Many men spend their free time visiting each other at home or at the village store where one can buy a stick of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather.

582 554 should come from a family of lower status than that of her husband. Village parents fear that a girl from a family wealthier than their 581 own will not make a good daughter-in-law. As one of our informants explained, "If a girl is from a poor family she will know about money and how to save money, but if she comes from a rich family she will be spending money all the time, and then it will be very hard for you if you aren't rich." One woman did tell us that choosing a rich girl might be a good thing "because you could make some money on the dowry," but later in the same conversation she also pointed out the disadvantages of such a choice. "If you marry a girl from a rich family she won't know how to work, and she will spend a lot of money because she *584 will be used to it." In the case of the sīm-pûa marriage, on the *597 other hand, the relative social status of the two families is not an 554 important consideration. They most commonly come from the same social strata, but they may also be from widely divergent family backgrounds, with either the boy's or the girl's family being the more privileged of the two. We know of one striking case in which one of the poorest families is Hsiachichou adopted a daughter from one of the wealthiest landlord families in the town of Hsulin. The economic circumstances of the two families were so disparate that the woman told us she never went to visit her natal family. "They are much wealthier than my husband's family and would just think I was coming [581] to ask for something." What apparently concerns a family in selecting a daughter-in-law is her ability to adjust to the routine of life in their household. So long as the girl is raised in their home

*584
*597
554
[58] there is no need to worry about the social status of her natal family, this being relevant only as an indication of the girl's personal habits.

*584 By contrast with the preferred form of marriage, the procedure for
*597 arranging a sim-pûa marriage is extraordinarily simple. Having once decided upon this form of marriage for a son, a family simply advertises this fact among their friends and relatives until they find a second family willing to give one of their female children in adoption. If they happen to have difficulty finding a family with a girl of the right age, and if they are also particularly anxious to arrange this form of marriage for their son, a family may ask the help of a professional go-between, but a go-between is not required as a matter of form. Indeed, very little is required by way of form in arranging the sim-pûa marriage. Once they have located an eligible child the women of the adopting family will usually go see the girl to make sure that she is a healthy normal child, and if they are satisfied that this is the case the arrangements for the marriage (or adoption, as you please) can be completed almost immediately and with a minimum of formality. According to village informants, the only concern of the girl's parents will be to see that the family does indeed have a son of the right age "and that the mother-in-law has milk to nurse the child." As a matter of courtesy, the adopting family will usually send the girl's parents a "bride price," but this is never more than a token amount of three or four hundred dollars. There is therefore no occasion for the angry and prolonged bargaining which characterizes the negotiations of the bride price in the case of the preferred marriage.

*523 611 591 such cases the children who bear the wife's surname will ordinarily accompany their parents when the household is divided, but they nonetheless remain in the mother's father's line of descent, and it is to their mother's parents that they must look for their inheritance.

*583 • 581 591 611 At the opposite extreme from the marriage in which the husband becomes a son of the family is the case in which he takes up residence with his wife's family without any prejudice to his rights as a father. The man agrees to live with his wife's parents and to accept their authority with regard to family finances and the daily management of the household, but he retains his own surname and the right to see all of his children acquire their descent in the normal way. As in the case in which there is some compromise of the normal rule of descent, the length of time the husband is obliged to live with his wife's parents is negotiable, and this is commonly some specifically limited period of time. Such marriages frequently involve a family whose daughters are a number of years older than the family's eldest son. Fearing that they will not be able to support themselves until their sons are old enough to assume responsibility, the parents arrange a matrilocal marriage for one of their daughters as a means of temporary support. The husband receives his wife on the understanding that he will help to support her parents until their sons are old enough to assume this responsibility, at which time he will be free to take his wife and children and establish an independent kê in the normal manner. Such marriages do not involve any distortion of the normal rule of patrilineal descent, and only a temporary qualification of the usual economic and social alignments.

+584 +583 We have already noted above that in the case of the preferred form of marriage the arrangements are initiated either by the boy's family or a go-between acting on their behalf. The more general rule is apparently that marriage arrangements are initiated by the family which stands to gain a member, for in the case of the matrilocal marriage the arrangements are almost invariably initiated by the female's family [581] or their representative. As a result, the first questions to be asked in the case of the matrilocal marriages are questions concerning the potential husband's character. Is he a good worker? Does he drink or spend money on prostitutes? Is he filial in his relations with his parents and capable in dealing with outsiders? When they find a man who has the requisite qualities in a reasonable degree, the girl's family will then attempt to negotiate a marriage which will bring him into the family. For their part, the potential husband and his parents will want to know what his status will be in his wife's family. Whose name are the children to take? If some are to take the wife's name, which ones? How long is he obliged to remain a member of his wife's family, and under what conditions might he leave before the end of such time? What property might he inherit, if any? Each of these rather difficult questions must be negotiated and agreed to in detail. Primarily this is because there are various sets of terms under which a matrilocal marriage may be arranged, but partially the need for clarity in these matters derives from the deviant character of matrilocal marriages. Being deviant, the terms of such a marriage must be negotiated, since one cannot depend upon generally recognized rules as guides for behavior.

583
581
554 We have seen that in the case of the preferred marriage the ideal is for the two families to be of approximately the same social status with any advantage being in favor of the husband's family. In the case of the matrilocal marriages there is no particular preference concerning the relative status of the two families, but there is in fact a strong tendency for the status of the male's family to be considerably lower than that of his wife's. Since a matrilocal marriage is an undesirable form of marriage for a male, men make such marriages only because they are so poor that they are willing to marry for security or for an inheritance. As a result, they are usually men from a socio-economic level lower than that of their wife's family. If they did not see some advantage in marrying into their wife's family, they would not

593
582 make a matrilocal marriage at all. The selection of the groom in the case of a matrilocal marriage also differs from the choice of a bride for a preferred marriage in that the general preferences for village exogamy and ethnic endogamy are not observed. Although most families would probably prefer a son-in-law from outside the village and within the same ethnic group, it is so difficult to find a man willing to make such a marriage that the girl's family is often forced to accept any man they can find. With the exception of the four cases in which a sim-púa married an agnate of her foster family, we do not find any preferred marriages involving two residents of Hsiachichou, and we know of only one case of a preferred marriage which involved a mainland Chinese. By contrast, the much smaller number of matrilocal marriages includes two endogamous marriages and three cases in which

the traditional matrilocal marriage. Such marriages do at least provide for the economic security of families who do not have sons of their own, and as the times change there will undoubtedly be a weakening of the beliefs that now make it important for parents to have a large family and descendants of their own.

The most important single criterion distinguishing the various forms of adoption recognized in Hsiachichou is the sex of the adopted child. The childless American family will usually first decide whether or not they want to adopt a child, and after this decision is made they will then consider the sex of the child. Often they do not care whether the child is a boy or a girl; their goal in adopting is to obtain a child. The situation is very different with the average Hokkien family. To them the adoption of a male and the adoption of a female are not alternative ways of satisfying the same need. A family who is interested in adopting a male child will not ordinarily consider the possibility of adopting a female child, and the family who is thinking of adopting a female child is often not at all interested in the possibility of adopting a male. The motivation for the two forms of adoption often springs from different concerns, and the two acts are recognized as always having very different social consequences.

The language of adoption in Hsiachichou recognizes two distinct forms of male adoption. In one case, the act of adoption is referred to with the verb chī, and the adopted child is spoken of as a kùe-páng-kià:. In the other, the verb indicating the act of adoption is either bŭe or bàe, depending upon whether one is speaking of the family who is

as insurance against a destitute old age. Yet one of the most compelling concerns of most elderly villagers is "to see their grandchildren before they die." In order to achieve this goal, they often force their sons into early marriages, and, if their son's wives prove barren, they may threaten to repudiate them, or if necessary, even adopt grandchildren. It is a great joy for an elderly man to be able to say that he has many children and grandchildren "to see me to the mountain when I die," and it is the great hope of every grandparent that he will be one of those few whose funeral procession is led by a small child dressed in blue, the mourning color for the deceased's great-grandchildren. Beyond the need to have someone to support you in your old age is the need to have descendants, to die assured that there will be someone to perpetuate the family line. To insure the comfort of one's old age is an important motive for having children, but the full value of children cannot be entirely represented in economic terms. They stand as testimony of a man's having fulfilled his duty to his own parents, and they make secure his own achievements and his claim on the future.

On the altar which stands opposite the main door to every village home are the family's ancestral tablets, small rectangular slips of planed wood, rounded on the top like grave-stones, and inscribed with the posthumous names of the deceased members of the family. Since the family is ideally patrilineal, these typically include the head of the household's father and mother, his father's father and father's mother, and so forth, for as many as five or six generations. The general rule is that a family's tablets will include all of those

* 593 • 581 858 181 Decisions about the sīm-pûa form of marriage are usually made by the boy's parents or grandparents when the child himself is only two or three years of age. It is therefore important to note at the outset that it is their right and duty to make this decision in terms of their own best interests and the best interests of the family. The child's own interests may be set aside as a consideration of secondary importance without any risk of social disapprobation or personal guilt. A parent may sympathize with his son if his marriage turns out to be a personally unhappy one, but he need not feel guilty because he was responsible for the decision. It was simply not his responsibility to consider the child's personal happiness in making a decision about his marriage. Children exist for the sake of their parents and for the sake of the family, not the family and the parents for the sake of their children. Although the Christian and the Chinese peasant agree that one of the primary functions of the family is to beget children, [171] they base their conclusions on entirely different premises. The Christian must be a father for the sake of the children; the Chinese farmer must be a father because it his duty as a son. For the Christian the greater obligation always rests with the parents, while for the Chinese the greater obligation always rests with the children. They must obey and respect their parents; work for their parents' support and comfort; and eventually marry and provide descendants to * 543 768 insure their parents' security in the next world. So basic is this attitude to the Chinese view of family life that should a child die before his parents, his father may justly beat his coffin with a stick

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 12

MATRILOCAL MARRIAGE

*587 *592 Most decisions about adoption are made during the extended phase of the normal family cycle. When sons marry they remain living with their parents and their married brothers, and it is during the next few years that most of their children are born and their fates decided. It is also during these years that the family is most likely to adopt a daughter to raise as a wife for one of their male children or as a means of bringing a son into the family. During the following stem phase of the family cycle, the membership of most households remains stable. Most of the family's children are too old to be given in adoption and too young yet to marry. The next period of crucial decisions is not usually reached until the death of the grandparents has reduced the household to a nuclear family. The children are then old enough to marry, and decisions must be made as to how they are going to marry. Marriages may be arranged which add to the family roster, or the young people may be married out of the family to become members of other households. Having already seen something of decisions which families make about adoption during the early phase of the cycle, our next task will be to consider decisions about the marriages of a family's young adult members.

• 581 A few men and women born in the village of Hsiachichou never marry, but this is usually the result of unforeseen circumstances rather than a family decision.

*583
178
591 Considering the changes which have taken place in Hsiachichou during the course of the past thirty years, one would expect a decrease in the frequency of men making matrilocal marriages. As the village has become somewhat wealthier fewer families should have been forced to let a son marry out because they were unable to afford the price of a wife. In fact, however, there has been very little change in the frequency of matrilocal madriages by village men. Of 50 men born in the years before 1910, 7 (14 percent) made matrilocal marriages, and of 102 men born after 1910, 11 (11 percent) left their natal families by way of a matrilocal marriage. What appears to have happened is that the years since 1930 have produced more men like Lin Liong-hong married into their wife's family simply because they had no family of their own, so that even though there have been fewer men who have married matrilocally for financial reasons the rate of matrilocal marriage has not declined appreciably. So long as most children continue to be raised in large extended families there will probably always be some men willing to make matrilocal marriages. Whatever the disadvantage and dangers of such a marriage, it is preferable to a life of solitude and death in a lonely room without the comfort of relatives.

^562
• 581 When a woman marries into her husband's family there is very little possibility that the marriage will not succeed. His parents may repudiate the girl for any one of several reasons, but they seldom do so because of the expenses of obtaining another daughter-in-law. More often it is the daughter-in-law who would like to extricate herself from her husband's family, but this is even less feasible.

*583
4 591 are adopted, and they naturally feel some resentment of the treatment
*593 they have received. In the case of the sim-pua marriage this does not
591 matter because the pivotal relationship is that of the son and his parents,
606 but it becomes a weakness in the matrilocal marriage where the adopted daughter becomes the crucial link. Moreover, whatever resentment a daughter may feel towards her parents is intensified by the fact that they have arranged a matrilocal marriage for her. It is assumed that no good man would ever make such a marriage, and so naturally no woman is ever happy to have to marry in this way. Just as the adopted daughter tends to blame all of the misfortunes of a lifetime on her parents' having given her away, the woman who marries matrilocally characteristically blames her marital dissatisfactions on her parents for having forced her into such a marriage. To cite but one example,

> "To marry this 'dead man' is to 'want to die.' He married into my family, I didn't marry into his. I didn't want to marry him, but my foster parents insisted. At that time my father had lost a lot of money in business, and he wanted to marry someone in quickly who would make money. My husband was a coal miner then, and made good money, and so they talked him into marrying into my family. If I could have married the man I wanted to marry, I wouldn't be living this poorly now. That man is doing very well now."

*583 The family created by the matrilocal marriage is thus much more brit-
591 tle than the family resulting from a patrilocal marriage. The tension
606 inherent in the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship is offset in
• 591 the case of the patrilocal marriage by the weakness of the daughter-in-law's position and the strong bond between a son and his parents, while in the case of a matrilocal marriage the relatively strong position of the son-in-law and the weak ties between the daughter and her parents little protection from the tensions between the newcomer and his wife's

*583 591 606 581 parents. As a consequence, a matrilocal marriage is much less likely to succeed than a patrilocal marriage. We do not know of a single case of a daughter-in-law's deserting her husband's family or a son's failing in his obligations to support his parents in their old age. By comparison, we know of at least 8 cases in which matrilocal marriages failed in their original purpose. Aside from the 2 instances in which the parents drove their son-in-law out of the family, our genealogies include 6 cases in which the son-in-law deserted of his own accord. In 3 of these cases the wife remained with her parents, and in 3 cases the husband persuaded his wife to bring the children and leave with him.

*583 591 558 581 We have already seen that it is "only a man who doesn't care about face" who will marry into his wife's family. Although the point is one which is not ordinarily made in discussions of matrilocal marriage in China, the woman's family does not lose face by arranging such a marriage for their daughter. The marriage does not enhace their status as would a preferred marriage, but neither is it something of which they must be ashamed. What concerns a family considering such a marriage is not what other people will say, but rather the question of the risks involved in such an arrangement. A family is always concerned that their son-in-law will not be a man of good character, for they too assume that no good man is ever willing to make such a marriage. More importantly, they are aware of the fact that such marriages are much less stable than patrilocal marriages. The man who is willing to marry into their family may desert them in their old age, and may even manage to "steal" their daughter and their grandchildren. In discussing the rela-

*583 591 581

583
591
.58

tive merits of the various forms of marriage, we were told, "You can never tell what will happen when a man marries into your family. He may be a good man like Tan Han-cu's son, or he may be a man who is always gambling and running around. Maybe he will work hard for your family, but maybe he will run away with your daughter. You can't depend on it."

We therefore find that it is only when they have no other way of obtaining sons that parents will attempt to arrange a matrilocal marriage for a daughter. Of 26 village girls for whom matrilocal marriages were arranged 16 (62 percent) were daughters whose parents did not have any sons. Their sons had either died before reaching marriageable age, or they had the misfortune of never bearing any male children. In 8 of those 10 cases in which a family did have sons and still arranged a matrilocal marriage for a daughter, the sons were much younger than the daughter. By the time a man's eldest children reach marriageable age, he himself will be approaching an age at which he will no longer be able to support his family. If these older children are girls, he may be forced to bring a son-in-law in to support the family until his own sons are old enough to assume this responsibility. We can therefore say that so long as a family has a son of marriageable age they will almost never arrange a matrilocal marriage for a daughter. The only two exceptions in our genealogies were cases in which the daughter herself initiated the marriage. In one case the marriage was a "love match" in which the man was escaping a marriage with a sim-pua, and in the other case the daughter was a prostitute who married a man she met

583
591
581

"at work." The husband himself claims that he did not marry his wife's family even though he is living with her parents in Hsiachichou, but this is probably not true as one of their three children carries his wife's surname.

The matrilocal marriage might therefore be characterized as a last resort. So long as a family has sons who are old enough to marry they allow their daughters to marry in the preferred way, but when they have no sons of marriageable age they have no choice but to arrange a matrilocal marriage for a daughter. While this is a step that is always taken with reluctance, it is important to note that it is also taken with determination. Simply because this is their last resort, parents will not brook any resistance on the part of their daughter. So far as they are concerned the family's future, and their own security in old age are at stake, and they are therefore willing to apply whatever pressure is necessary to make a daughter acquiesce. Occasionally it happens that no pressure is necessary. In one happy case a girl whose parents had no sons had the good fortune to be attracted to (and attractive to) a young man who did not have a family of his own. She was happy to marry this particular man under any circumstances, and her parents were delighted to find a man willing to marry into their family. When we asked her if her parents had approved of her choosing her own husband, she answered, smiling, "It isn't easy to find a man willing to marry into his wife's family." More commonly, however, this is not the case. As a result of the stereotype of "the kind of man who would

*583 591 581 marry into his wife's family," most women are very much opposed to matrilocal marriages. As one young woman told us, "A man like that will never make a good husband."

*584 591 581 But while most women are reluctant to make a matrilocal marriage, the opposition is not nearly so intense as that to the sīm-pûa form of marriage. It is more a matter of what they consider a good marriage, less a matter of personal revulsion. Moreover, the parents are in a much stronger position in arranging a matrilocal marriage than a sīm-pûa marriage. In attempting to force a sīm-pûa marriage the parents must deal with their son as well as their daughter, while in the case of a matrilocal marriage they only need be concerned with making a daughter comply. In recent years at least, sons have been able to resist parental pressure because of their potential economic independence, but daughters still cannot threaten with such an alternative. Although there are jobs for young women in textile mills and the drug factory, these do not pay enough to enable her to support herself. It is therefore much easier for parents to force a daughter to comply. We know of only one case in which a young woman was able to dissuade her parents from their plan for a matrilocal marriage, and this case was exceptional because the girl had a very good job as a clerk in a Taipei bank. When her parents began to talk of a matrilocal marriage, she told them that she couldn't marry because married women were not allowed to work in the bank. When they nonetheless insisted upon her making such a marriage, she used her own wages to adopt a daughter and later a son. She was then able to argue that there was no point in her marrying. She

*562 *584 [464] [463]

#562 #584 herself could earn as much money as any man who might be willing to marry into the family, and she had also provided them with a granddaughter and a grandson.

#583 591 581 The decision which a family must make about the matrilocal form of marriage is thus very different from the choice between the two forms of patrilocal marriage. In choosing between the preferred marriage and the sīm-pûa marriage a family decides between two alternative ways of achieving the same goal. Each has its advantages and disadvantages, but either will assure the family of a satisfactory posterity. The matrilocal marriage, on the other hand, is a form of marriage which is always to be avoided if at all possible, but which in certain situations becomes an absolute necessity. Rather than being a case of weighing the relative advantages and disadvantages, the choice sometimes becomes a matter of a family's achieving the goal of continuity or not. A family with sons will allow its daughters to marry out of the family, but a family which does not have sons has no real choice but to marry their daughters matrilocally. As a result, we find that even though the frequency of sīm-pûa marriages has declined sharply in the last thirty years, the frequency with which families have arranged matrilocal marriages for their daughters has not declined to any appreciable extent. There are families which still fail to produce sons, and there are therefore still families which are forced to arrange matrilocal marriages for their daughters. Of 41 girls born before 1910 and raised in Hsiachichou a total of 8 (19 percent) made matrilocal marriages, and of 100 girls born af-

#583 591 581 178

583 591 681 178 593 597 58 181

ter 1910 a total of 17 (17 percent) made matrilocal marriages. Here again we find a demonstration of a point we have made several times already. Although many aspects of marriage and adoption have changed in Hsiachichou in recent years, the basic meaning and values of the family have not changed. When a decision about marriage or adoption involves the possibility of a family's not achieving the goal of genealogical continuity, they make and somehow manage to enforce whatever decision is necessary in order to achieve this goal.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

of gratitude to the son who had remained loyal to him. A poor family with no money and no land can marry a son to a foster daughter and their neighbors will think nothing of it; when a family as affluent as Lim Han-ci's makes such a marriage, it only reminds the neighbors of how insignificant that family was when the bride was adopted. The Lim family had climbed to a definite social position in their [redacted]nity and Lim Han-ci was willing to pay the price to maintain it.

Mui-mue's character and limited intellectual capacities cast doubt on her ability to function as the wife of the family's head. With the removal of his eldest son from an active role in family affairs, Lim Han-ci departed from custom and began to look to his second son as his natural successor. So long as he lived, Lim Han-ci retained and made the most of his authority as father, but he gradually turned over to Lim Chieng-cua the practical conduct of the family's affairs. Lim Han-ci continued to represent the family in the village and to conduct most of its external affairs, but more and more decisions about the use of family funds, the purchase of supplies, the keeping of family accounts, were delegated to Chieng-cua. As Chieng-cua's wife, Mui-mue would be expected to eventually assume management of the family's domestic affairs, and this was a task for which she had again and again demonstrated herself as unfit. By now the family was convinced that Mui-mue could not be trusted with access to their common purse. Lim A-pou would have been the ideal woman to fill this role, but that was impossible. The only solution was to remove Mui-mue and find another wife for Lim Chieng-cua.

From what I heard of her early personality and from what I can infer from her present behavior, the marriage Lim Han-ci negotiated for Iu Mui-mue seemed quite appropriate. Through the good offices of a go-between, she was quietly and respectably married to a medicine peddler from a nearby town. Medicine peddlers are rarely wealthy and usually spend a great deal of time traveling, but their life is full of variety and in general freer than that in the villages. This nomadic existence with its constant stimulation should have been ideal for Mui-mue, but for some reason it was not. Perhaps instead of traveling with her husband, she was left at home with his parents, or perhaps her easy ways and lack of judgment got her into trouble. Whatever the cause, the marriage lasted for a very short period, less than a year. I have reason to believe that the failure of the marriage rested on her actions since had it been otherwise, she would have returned to the

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Lim home from which she was properly married and let them take responsibility for smoothing out the difficulties—a form of behavior in which Mui-mue was well practiced. Instead, Iu Mui-mue resumed the name of her natal family, although she did not revive any other relations with them, and moved to the city of Keelung. Keelung is a port city and the brothels there are not the prosperous, gay sin spots frequented by Tan A-hong and her daughter, Chun-ieng. Even in her youth Iu Mui-mue couldn't have been attractive enough to find employment in a better class house, and her lethargy and lack of intelligence would not have allowed her to try any other form of employment. Nonetheless, her good humor alone seems to have provided her with enough "friends" to support herself. She returned to the Lim household infrequently.

Much to the disgust of some of our informants, the most scornful of whom had herself worked for several years as a prostitute, Mui-mue contracted syphilis. To be specific, the disgust of her acquaintances was engendered not so much by the fact that she contracted the disease, an obvious occupational hazard, but by the fact that she neglected it until her legs were a mass of loathesome sores. Someone finally forced medical attention on her and she was cured, but her legs are deeply scarred.

Iu Mui-mue was twenty-eight when her first child, a girl, was born. Her chronology is a bit hazy here since it was also at about this time that she began living with a gardener. After a few years she and the gardener were married. That is, they registered their names jointly with the police. Shortly after attaining this respectable status, Mui-mue succumbed to the attraction of the house of Lim and returned to Peihotien. She and her husband now rent another of the little houses owned by the Lims. She is in and out of the main house somewhat more than other neighbors, always helps in the kitchen when the family gives a big feast, is usually the first asked when A-bok must hire a woman to weed or clean vegetables. There is considerable reticence about discussing family affairs in her presence as she is no more capable of keeping a secret than she is capable of tact. In the family schism, she is notoriously prejudiced toward Lim A-pou's point of view and when lacking evidence for her case does not hesitate to manufacture it.

Iu Mui-mue's marriage seems as stable and as happy as any of the other relationships in Peihotien, both formal and informal. Her

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

husband is considerably older than she, which is not particularly unusual, and he seems blessed with no more sense or responsibility than his wife. He has worked in the gardens of American military and embassy families on occasion, but now that the early days of gross overpayment are finished, he is resentful of the wages he is paid (usually about twice what any Chinese would consider paying). He never has a steady job and makes little effort in that direction, but when he does find something that pays well, the family lives high. I overheard the following conversation between Lim Chui-ieng and Tan A-hong about their mutual relative when they found out that Mui-mue's husband had found a profitable job.

A-hong: "He has already made over NT$3,000 and now they have set him to planting trees at the flour mill in Tapu. He is getting paid ten dollars a tree! But, neither of them think of paying back the money they owe. They just buy new clothes, and more food than a family twice their size could eat, and Mui-mue gambles every day."

Lim Chui-ieng: "I never could do the way she does. She only thinks about borrowing the money and never about the next time she may need to borrow. Every time you ask them to pay you back, they say they will pay you as soon as they get some money. It's only her mouth that says this though, it never gets into her head."

A-hong: "That's right. We always worry when we owe people money, but those two! The husband and wife are just the same! A-bok has seen him come home several times with a big basket of peaches. I would never dare buy peaches."

Lim Chui-ieng: "My children don't even know what a peach tastes like."

A-hong: "Mui-mue doesn't understand anything at all about *cue lang* [obligations to people]. Like that time when her son was so sick and they didn't have enough money to take the child to a doctor. My daughter gave her some rings to pawn, but instead she took them around to different people and borrowed money from them all. When Chun-ieng found out about it, she had to go around and pay all the people. Mui-mue never did pay Chun-ieng the money. If she understood about *cue lang*, she would always be grateful to my Chun-ieng because her child would be dead now if it weren't for her. Instead, she doesn't even pay her back the money."

The two women continued discussing Iu Mui-mue's various strategies for obtaining money. Lim Chui-ieng admitting that even she had

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

made the mistake once of borrowing money for her which she finally had to repay herself. Tan A-hong who lives next door to Mui-mue said that someone or other comes nearly every day to try to get money owed to them. The two women then tried to calculate the debts known to them and came up with a figure close to NT$10,000, not including their current bill at Ng's store. Tan A-hong's righteous indignation at Mui-mue's debts and daily gambling may strike the reader as hypocritical, but in a village economy Mui-mue's peccadilloes are less forgivable than A-hong's. The latter pays her debts, albeit with her daughter's money, but Mui-mue borrows from non-relatives as from relatives with no serious plan for repayment. The long suffering wife of the village storekeeper told me one day, "That Iu Mui-mue! Her body is stuffed with borrowed money! She has charged over NT$800 worth of rice from me alone. You don't even have to talk about all the other food. She borrowed over NT$400 from my father-in-law a long time ago. Every time I ask her to pay some of her bill, she says she doesn't have any money, but then she is always off somewhere gambling. She never stops to think 'I owe lots of people money. I should stop gambling.'"

Iu Mui-mue and her husband are both gamblers but on a modest scale. They have neither enough money nor wits to spend the long hours at the tables with the real addicts. Mui-mue provides the serious gamblers with great amusement because of her children. The girl is old enough now to run herd on the two smaller boys, but when their mother is gambling, all three frequently gang up on the poor woman and create terrible scenes until she bribes them outdoors with money for candy and cookies. Since she usually enters the games with small capital, the children cut her playing time to a minimum. Her own voracious appetite consumes what little she may win.

I have often wondered what it was that attracted Mui-mue's husband and what it is that keeps him with her. Physically, she couldn't have been very appealing when they met, and she certainly hasn't improved since. She is fat, not in the sleek, shining manner of a prosperous Chinese matron, but with the lumpy, coarseness of a slattern in any culture. Her abilities as a housewife are minimal and her meals haphazard. Although her eldest child is a pleasant, patient girl and is perhaps a bit more intelligent than the rest of the family, she is growing sneaky and spiteful with the burden of the two little boys constantly on her hands. The boys are literally borderline cases. The

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

eldest is aptly nicknamed "Dumby" by the village children. When I left the village, he was becoming quite vicious as a result of the cruel teasing of his peers. His sister does her best to protect him, but Iu Mui-mue, except for an occasional shout at his persecutors, seems unconcerned. The father is not particularly well received in the village, probably because of his and his wife's capacity for accumulating hopeless debts. I never saw him at a feast in the Lim house, even when his wife was helping in the kitchen. Yet, between husband and wife there seems to be a steady, stable affection. Few marital disputes are missed by the village gossips, but I rarely heard of a disturbance in their household. The only long-standing disagreement they have, one which would have been major in other families, is about the terms of their marriage. Mui-mue's husband claims that his wife married into his line of descent, but his wife claims that he married into hers. As evidence for her case, Mui-mue points out that the eldest child carries her family surname. Her husband claims that this is simply an error in registration that he will have changed. The "error in registration" may very well have occurred before Mui-mue and her husband were married. During my stay in the village, the registration was never changed, the disagreement never resolved, and the debts never paid.

Before their marriage there is rarely anything in the behavior of betrothed foster siblings that distinguishes them from true brothers and sisters. The present relationship between Lim Chieng-cua and Mui-mue is probably somewhat more distant than is usual between a man and his married sister, but considering the two personalities involved, and their present, very different, statuses, this is not too surprising. Iu Mui-mue is certainly not secretive about her sympathy with Lim A-pou in the current family disagreement, but sisters are nearly always closer to each other than they are to their brothers. Mui-mue is not given to reflection, but any opinion or thought that does occur to her is usually expressed loudly to anyone who will listen. If she ever stopped to consider how close she came to occupying Lim Chui-ieng's comfortable position rather than her own precarious one, she has long since forgotten about it. Mui-mue is clearly a victim of the Lim family's change of fortune, but in fact I think she is quite content with her life.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

had prospered and had been assisted toward their prosperity by the Lims. They still consult with Lim Chieng-cua and Lim A-bok on a variety of subjects, ranging from insecticides to investments. A bride's family could not bribe Ng Kui-lian to hide their daughter's defects until after the final ceremony, or raise the bride price and lower the dowry. This go-between's loyalty was unquestionable.

Unfortunately, Lim Han-ci's choice of a bride was not as astute as his choice of a go-between. In deciding among the several girls that Ng Kui-lian presented for his approval, he broke a fundamental rule. Chui-ieng was attractive, intelligent, healthy, and of the right age for his son. She was reputed to be strong-minded, but no rumor of really bad behavior was found among her neighbors. She was an adopted daughter but had been adopted into a childless family, so there was no suspicion that she was being rejected as an unsuitable bride for the son of that family. She did not have a reputation for skill in the domestic arts, but this was not at all unusual for young women from families of modestly comfortable means. Many mothers consider their permissive treatment of their daughters a kindness, at the same time cursing their new daughters-in-law for the slack upbringing that makes them so useless in their marital homes. But this was a minor fault. The major fault was one that Lim Han-ci foolishly chose to disregard. Chui-ieng was born into an urban family far wealthier than the Lims, and adopted into a family which was perceptibly better off than the Lims. When his go-between pointed this out as a serious disadvantage, Lim Han-ci made an error of pride. The house of Lim had risen so far in his lifetime that his perspective blurred. When Chieng-cua caught sight of the handsome girl and indicated his approval to his father, the decision was made. Lim Han-ci dismissed the long-accepted custom that wives should be selected from families whose status was the same or slightly inferior to their husband's. It was a decision he and the rest of the family regretted from the day Chui-ieng entered the house. She persistently brought to everyone's mind, both intentionally and through ignorance, the reason for this rule of marriage. Although not accustomed to a life of luxury, she was used to more comforts than she found with the Lims. She did not consider the price of a bus ticket to the next town a serious expenditure. The closest she had come to agriculture was in picking flowers, but the Lims expected her help, albeit minimally, during the rush periods of harvest. Although she knew she would have to learn to

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

• 581
*159 cook for a large family, her intense pride prevented her from taking
*596 gruff corrections humbly. In her own home, she had learned to dictate
*593 to a young servant, to express any frustration with a display of anger
[359] that confused her more even-tempered parents and made the servant scurry. Worst of all for Lim Han-ci, her dissatisfaction quickly turned to scorn for the family into which she had married. She became the only adult in the family who did not take seriously their almost fanatic desire to preserve the family's dignity and good name. She looked down on them as inferiors and saw no good name to be preserved. Her excessive evaluation of her own worth prevented her from making any friends in the village and consequently prevented her from damaging the family with idle gossip, but she was totally unwilling to control her strong feelings when their public display could only injure the family in the eyes of its neighbors. To her, they had nothing to lose.

When I came to live with the Lim family, Lim Chui-ieng had been married for seventeen years and had borne her husband six children. Most village women after this length of time visit their natal homes only rarely and have thoroughly, if not peacefully, identified with the family of their husbands and their children. Lim Chui-ieng had not made this adjustment. Family secrets, the very existence of which other family members denied, were fair topics of conversation for Chui-ieng. In her loneliness, she seized upon my interpreter as a confidante, telling her at every opportunity of the tragedy that was her life, a tragedy culminating in her marriage to Lim Chieng-cua. Even though her stories are distorted and biased in her own favor, they show what a disrupting effect she has had on the Lim family.

*159 "I was adopted," she said, "when I was four or five months old.
*593 My father's older brother was a very well-known man, and my family
597 was very particular about only giving daughters to a family who had
584 sons for them to marry. My grandmother was very strict, and she would only let each of her three sons keep one daughter. They had to give the rest away.

"My foster mother and father quarreled a great deal from the time they were married, and so they didn't have any children. His mother decided that it would be a good idea to adopt a child for them. She thought that once they had a child they wouldn't fight anymore. She had just borne a baby girl herself, so she gave her away and adopted me to drink her milk. She wanted to get a baby so badly that

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 11

[p.132]

NARROW HEARTS

*159 *596 *593 • 581 837

According to Lim Chui-ieng, all of her unhappiness stems from someone's ill use of her. In adult life that someone has been Lim Chieng-cua. Chui-ieng has chosen to focus on her husband's mistresses as the source of most of her troubles. Romantic love is considered irrelevant to marriage in China, and Chui-ieng had not even met her husband before her marriage, let alone seen enough of him to love him. Nonetheless, she felt insulted and threatened by the extra-marital activities he engaged in from the early years of their union. Her childhood, unusual for an adopted daughter, had not taught her the rewards of submission or the pretense of submission, but had accustomed her to being the center of large and small storms, many of them brought on by her displays of temper. In the Lim family tempers were a speciality and Chui-ieng's little displays caused only looks of disapproval. She had expected trouble in her new home, indeed her parents had warned her repeatedly that she would have to mend her ways when she married, but she had not expected to be ignored. I don't think it had ever occurred to her that she might not be able to control her husband as easily as she had controlled her foster parents.

*159 *596 *593 837

Chui-ieng's failure made her frantic, but she was helpless. She could mask her despair with scorn, but the only reasonable criticism she could make of her husband was that the money he spent on mistresses would ruin the family. "It is not because my heart is narrow that I argue with my husband. It is because I want to save my family. If he spends all the money on girlfriends, what are my children to do? We aren't like Lim A-pou and her sons who only eat the rice in the middle of the pan [i.e. don't have to worry where it is coming from]. When my children's father has a girlfriend he takes her to movies and to restaurants, gambling and buying wine. They take friends along too,

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

but he is the one who pays. And I? I have to ask for money like a beggar."

Lim Chieng-cua's neighbors look upon his affairs as quite natural to a man of his position and income. A wife's function is to bear children, raise them, and care for their home. Only the recent incursions of Western romanticism have encouraged the younger generations to look for something more in the marital relationship. Men who can afford it have always sought companionship outside their homes. If a man cannot afford these pleasures but takes them anyway, he is frowned upon by his neighbors and relatives—not for the injury he does his wife (for indeed there is no injury if he provides her and her children with a home and food), but for the injury to his ancestors and descendants whose property it is that he squanders.

According to his neighbors, Lim Chieng-cua chose his entertainment with moderation and in accordance with his income. A well-respected widow in the village who had been a good friend of Lim Chieng-cua's parents told me, "Lim Chieng-cua and his wife have gradually begun to get along better since his father died and left him to manage everything alone. Before then Chieng-cua had more time and so he always had a mistress. He could make a lot of money and so naturally he had girlfriends. His wife was always following him, trying to catch him with some woman. Whenever he went out, she would sneak along behind and then come back and tell his parents. When he came home, Lim Chieng-cua would politely say he had been to such and such a place on business, and then his wife would jump in and say exactly where he had been, with all the times and people listed. She embarrassed the old father and this made Chieng-cua mad. They quarreled every day. Lim Han-ci always told her, 'Let him alone. Don't always argue with him and you won't get beaten.'"

Because of their status in Peihotien, everything the Lims do, from the way they arrange their family altar to Lim Chieng-cua's business dealings, is of interest to their neighbors. Few people have the courage to openly question Lim Han-ci, Lim Chieng-cua, or, for that matter, even Lim A-pou about the activities of their household, but Lim Chui-ieng's recurrent indiscretions provide the village with much to discuss. She is too proud to have a confidante in the village or even a friend, but her pride did not prevent her from tracking her husband and quarreling with him in public. One might expect Lim Chieng-cua's less affluent neighbors to feel a certain amount of jealousy,

562 easily earn more by working in the fields. In spite of
465 the fact that, on the average, the total amount earned between the age of 15 and marriage at 22 would be higher in the fields than in the factory, most girls prefer work in the factory.

562 Villagers view the phenomena of females working in
831 factories with mixed emotion. They like the cash the girl
829 earns and have even exerted some pressure to delay mar-
882 riage in order to retain the economic advantage. Yet,
[582] there are fears that the girls will learn improper behavior
[363] in the factory such as city ways and will surely have freer relationships with boys that may lead to sexual intercourse as demonstrated by a couple of girls who got pregnant and, for example, by the fact that the only single girls who
562 wear make-up, all work in the factories. There is also
531 recognition of the basic lack of opportunity for sufficient
829 socialization into the role of village wife. Is the former
882 factory girl going to adjust when she marries or more im-
562 portant, will she even want to? Tea farmers see that few
829 younger girls are being trained to replace the older fe-
882 males whose work is so important.

562 Finally, the family loses some control over a girl
892 who works in a factory because she can easily move to one
593 of the dormitories if her home life is unsatisfactory. Thus, some of her wages must be expended on her personal expenses and clothes as well as some saved for her dowry.

583 her. She (2) had two children: one (3) married out, but
851 an adopted-in husband was brought in for the other (4). The latter (4) had six children before her husband died and half were named Liao and half Wu in accordance with the initial arrangement that alternating children would be assigned each surname. At the time of the study, the family was searching for a man to be brought in as an adopted-in husband for Liao's 18 year old great-granddaughter (5). Liao (1) hoped to have him agree that all his children would have the surname Liao, but he was willing to reduce his conditions to a minimum of his choice of one of the first two only. Thus, Liao Chi-cheng (1) has been able to maintain his family name and ancestral line for three generations although there were no natural children in one generation, only girls in another, and the only male in the third died as a child.

583 Men who become adopted-in husbands usually possess
556 some social characteristic that makes them unlikely pros-
• 581 pects for a regular marriage. That is, they may be from a poor family, be an orphan, or be the last in a family with many sons. In each of these cases, it would be difficult for the man's family to afford the expenses necessary for a regular marriage. Sometimes the man has a physical defect such as a crippled leg which lowers his value as a groom. On the other hand, it is not unusual for a quite capable and ambitious young man with otherwise poor

583 prospects to become an adopted-in husband for he does gain
556 a wife, usually without cost, and also gains a home and an
581 economic stake in his wife's property, the extent determined by negotiation.

583 At marriage, adopted-in husbands are older than
582 regular husbands, 27.1 versus 25.8, but their brides are younger, 19.8 versus 21.2. Although I was not able to establish the explanation with certainty, it does appear that the older age for men is related to their inferior prospects as grooms. The younger age for women seems due to two facts. For one, they are probably acceding to parental wishes for fear of the lack of descendants; for the other, there is the absence of any pressure to delay marriage because of the girl's economic or labor contributions since she will not be leaving the household.

573 Most men state they would not like to be an adopted-
559 in husband, a chao fu. However, the status of an adopted-in husband does not appear to be as low in Sanlei as has been described in some other communities (Gallin, 1966: 136; Barclay, 1954:229). For example, one adopted-in husband is the elected representative to the farmers' association, another is the chairman of the mediation team for a nearby coal mine, and yet another was the pot master for the last Matsu festival. Perhaps the differences in status are related to the frequency of matrilocal marriages in various communities. Only West Town among the Chinese

584 cited above the male was informed first and in only one
597 case, did the boy claim he did not try to indicate strong
593 reluctance. This latter individual remains today a most filial son, age 42, living in an extended family with his father having full control of all family income and expenditures. Eleven of the twelve cases then may be considered on one level to indicate a failure by the boy or girl to obtain their wishes. Sometimes, the reluctance was expressed mildly but in other cases, there was a loud argument, lasting days, which was heard all over the village. In one of the twelve marriages, the bride was adopted to marry the eldest son in the family. She later was married to the second son after the eldest son successfully persuaded his father not to force the marriage. The second son also tried to refuse but his father was adamant.

584 Wolf (1966:883-92) found that the <u>siaosiv</u> marriage
• 581 had a much lower probability of success than normal types which he relates to the nature of the causes for the "incest tabu." Data for Sanlei tend to support his argument. Only two of the twelve marriages would be rated as above average successes in the village. In both cases (one is the filial son example cited previously), each partner is
584 quiet and unaggressive and was so as a child. All four
836 spouses were virgins at marriage and neither man had been to the tea or wine houses. Although there was some ritual avoidance after the engagement was announced, in both

584 However, four promiscuous women do reside in Sanlei and
581 villagers consider one insatiable. Of these four women,
837 two were formerly siaosiv. This frequency is highly significant by sign although the "n" is too small for adequate testing. Among siaosiv, there is a high proportion of quite unhappy marriages and one childless marriage, the only childless marriage of ten years or more in which the wife was under 25 at marriage and in which the couple still refuses to adopt a child.

584 Everyone in the village argues why a siaosiv mar-
183 riage is a good idea for someone else. Their reasons emphasize both the economies to be realized and the positiveness of good relations between mother and daughter-in-law which must have been present if the match had been proposed. The reasons given for not personally desiring this kind of marriage was always either, "I would be too embarrassed," or, "It would not be interesting" (see Glossary C). It is significant that no man or woman in the village would prefer a siaosiv marriage.

198 The last siaosiv marriage in Sanlei Ts'un was in
584 1959 and since that date, three girls who had been adopted into the village as future mates married out in the regular fashion. As far as I could tell, only one of these was after an argument (a "love marriage" to a boy from T'oulei) while the adopted fathers of the other two claimed that they married the girls out because siaosiv marriage now

The Desire for Children

181 842 769 775 The following expression of the Confucian design for living is still significant after 2000 years: "Of the offenses against filial piety, lacking descendants is the worst" (Hsu, 1963:29). Barrenness is not only contrary to duty to one's ancestors, but a man without offspring to worship his soul after death may become a wandering spirit or be confined to one of the many hells. Additionally, social 181 842 554 security is essentially provided by one's children and moreover, children are a source of prestige and a means of validating one's position in the community. It would be very rare for a childless man to fill an official position or play any significant leadership role in the community. A woman gains full status and membership in her husband's family through her children. There is a culturally provided 181 842 597 escape for the biologically barren: an adopted child is the equivalent of a natural child.

The pressure for descendants has other concomitant [626] effects. A family without natural children is nearly forced to adopt one or more by community pressure even if they had no real personal desire of their own although the cultural values and logic of security mean the latter would be unlikely. 581 842 597 Almost every woman gets married as there are few acceptable alternative roles for women outside of marriage. In the rare case of a woman who never marries, i.e., some prostitutes, or in the case of widowhood before bearing

581 842 597 children, an adoption is still likely in order to provide security in old age. Historically, Taiwan has had a high sex ratio (Barclay, 1954:212) and nearly all females were able to marry; the rate exceeded 99% married every year since 1905 for women over 40. However, some men were necessarily without mates; never-married men over 40 always exceeded 4% for the same period (Barclay, 1954:211). Most men who never marry have some kind of social defect such as poverty or a drinking problem but many of these men also adopt children such as the two never-married men in Sanlei with adopted children.

842 178 183 125 Martin Yang reports that the number of children desired in the "ideal" family for Taiwan has been decreasing over time (1962:69). This finding is not based on a longitudinal study but on a comparative study using respondents in different generations. Interviews in Sanlei village support his findings. However, all attempts to simulate longitudinal studies by assuming an age range suffer the same obvious defects. For example, if Sanlei women beyond child-bearing ages are divided into two groups, those who bore more than four children and those who bore less, there is a strong positive correlation between the actual size of a woman's family and her report of an "ideal" size. For young married women, it is possible that the attitude may change in time, i.e., her desires and expectancies may become congruent with her real situation. Nevertheless, the number of children desired for an "ideal" family is

183 178 842

902 boys are not expected to marry until after completing ser-
582 vice. This expectation has served to raise the average age
[465] of boys at marriage.

Marriage

584 Marriage has been discussed in Chapter V. To review briefly, there are a number of different ways to classify marriages. In terms of decision making, there are three types: 1) arranged, with parents fully in control of the decision; 2) veto, with parents making the initial arrangements but the bride and groom each possessing veto power; and 3) love, where everything is decided by the bride and
178 groom. Historically, changes have occurred from a majority
584 of arranged marriages to the veto type and more recently
581 to the love although all three types appear to have always been present in Chinese society. Currently, each constitutes about one third of the marriages in the village. There is some difficulty in obtaining accurate assessments of the frequency of each type because there is an attempt to disguise others as if they were the arranged form which carries the highest prestige.

584 In its ideal form, an arranged marriage is achieved through a process of negotiation between the two families through a matchmaker and the couple do not meet until the wedding day. Even at the engagement, the groom's mother goes to the bride's house and puts the engagement rings on the prospective bride's finger.

582 who regarded the proscription as binding although no one could remember the story of the fight which caused the pledge to be promulgated.

602 581 Gallin has discussed the significance of matrilateral and affinal relationships in a Taiwanese village (1960) in a manner which is equally valid in Sanlei for such relatives are very important. In a dispute or when one has problems, affinal relatives are sources of support and they have important roles in weddings, funerals, etc. Any marriage then, is likely to establish permanent relationships between two families. Many an adopted-in husband is without a family at the time of marriage, i.e., originally his parents had few children and are both dead, because the absence of a family is a defect lowering the value of a man as a marriage prospect, thus promoting a chao fu marriage.

591 There are other personal and socioeconomic factors affecting the selection of marriage partners. For example, it is best if the boy's family is a little richer than the girl's. In Sanlei, there is a tendency for tea-processing families to intermarry in order to preserve requisite skills and knowledge within a limited group. Also, efforts are expended to make sure the bride and groom are about equal in terms of popularity, physical beauty, etc., as many people claim great differences are more likely to lead to divorce.

587 Erhlei during our stay, the whole area was rife with gossip
[765] as to who her new husband would be. Since she had three children, one recently born, and could not continue alone, marriage would be expected as soon as a suitable suitor
[162] could be found, perhaps in a few weeks. Given the sex ratio, females have an advantage over males in obtaining a never-married spouse for a second partner and the overall shortage of women in the area has probably added to the elevation of their status.

Married Life

593 There is much less originally expected from a spouse after marriage than in America, i.e., only respect and a level of nurture but it appears that more is received. Villagers say, "If love and excitement come or if the two people enjoy talking together, that would be nice" (See Glossary C). Companionship may be provided by other members of the family, neighbors or for a man by his sworn brothers or for a woman by her age cohorts in the village; love could come from the same people and surely from the children. Of course, if two people live together intimately on a basis of respect and care, love nearly always comes and if it does not, it was never really necessary nor expected and the marriage can be a success in spite of the void.

• 581 The marriage usually starts in very strained circumstances for in a majority of the cases, the couple have little personal knowledge of each other, perhaps not even

581 meeting until the wedding day, and even many "love" mar-
585 riages are between relative strangers. Yet, the first night should be witness to consummation. There are culturally provided mechanisms to ease the establishment of a relationship. On the wedding day, there have been many guests and activities allowing the newly-weds no time alone with each other and the first evening, the groom and bride are both a little high but neither is really drunk. Normally, a host will kan bei (bottoms up) with guests, one at a time, but a groom is permitted to use his best friends as proxies. A toast is normally in three parts: a salute with the glass, drinking it down, and another salute which demonstrates the glass is empty. The groom performs the first and last part with his male friends doing the drinking, but he and the bride both have a few drinks with the more important guests. When they enter the bedroom, they will be isolated for a three day period of adjustment, even their food will be left outside the door. They may use a chamber pot but many sneak out to use the toilet.

593 After this, further cultural provisions help ease the strain. For example, since married couples are not permitted to show public affection, they do not have to pretend affection; they do not have to pretend in public everything is wonderful in spite of the fact they have quarreled in private.

It is usually many years before a married couple walk together and stand close in public as when watching an

121 inaccurate) is true; although change is endemic, the data in
562 Sanlei is consistent with concrete data in the traditional literature in spite of the many converse generalizations.

562 It is supposedly a Chinese value that women in tra-
871 ditional China should not be educated (Fairbank, 1958:30; C. K. Yang, 1959:111; Chiu, 1966:19). Currently, education in Sanlei village is compulsory for a full six years for boys and girls alike. One of the three junior high school graduations ever achieved by Sanlei residents is a female. Even eighty years ago, two of the fifteen village children [212] in school were girls. One of the original female settlers was semi-literate and was said to possess a fine form for [178] characters.[2] Although change to near equality of educational opportunity has occurred (See Chapter VIII), it was not from an initial position of total denial of education for females. Rather, females went from a minority position in education to one of near equality with males.

We are unable to fully assess the nature of Sanlei villagers' attitudes towards the education of women in the [582] past but we can attempt an educated guess. Today for instance, although it is felt that education is more important for males, any man who goes beyond elementary school should [581] not marry an illiterate woman. This belief is related to the general proposition advanced in the section on marriage (Chapter VIII) that spouses should not be extremely different from each other in any major attribute[3] such as

popularity, beauty, intelligence, wealth, etc. This proposition was also strong in the past but we cannot be sure if education at that time was one of the qualities designated for minimal disparity.

We do have evidence from history and literature that among the wealthier classes in society, there were many educated females. Indeed, Herbert points out that "in the Great Chinese Encyclopedia, out of 1628 volumes, 376 are devoted to famous women." Seven deal with "the literary productions of women" (1965:227). This kind of evidence is only partially supportive because the relationship between the patterns of the Great Tradition of the wealthier classes and the Little Tradition of the village is only problematical.

It is granted that there is still a disparity between rates of literacy among men and women although the percentage of literacy historically was low for both. In a survey conducted in North China in 1930 among 400 farm families, Gamble found that the literacy rate of 25% among men age 41 to 50 was more than 30 times as high as the rate among women in the same age bracket. These figures, suggesting an educational system operating between 1890 and 1900,[4] clearly indicate discrimination but do not suggest total denial of educational opportunities for females. The differences in rates may well merely reflect the uses to which education could be put. Education was expensive in terms

562 his wife to serve tea. She quickly complied, brewing a
593 fresh pot and poured the tea into our cups, eyes downcast and meek. She came back a couple of times to ask if her "Lord and Master" desired more tea. Immediately after the secretary left, while we were still sitting around the table finishing a cigarette before returning to the courtyard to finish the job, the "Lord and Master" was sent by his wife to immediately fetch two buckets of water from the river. For the outsider (the secretary), Liao Wei-yu is the master of his house; among his intimates and neighbors, everyone knows his wife is the boss.

121 Questions by an anthropologist will evoke all kinds
542 of statements about the superiority of men and their authority over women. However, if material is carefully elicited and logically analyzed, a different picture is likely to emerge. For example, achieved status with a strong tendency for it to focus on the family unit rather than on the individual is extremely important in Sanlei as it is in most of
562 China. In any discussion about the manner by which a family
577 achieves prosperity or success, much of the material will
593 relate to the importance of women. It is believed that a woman can make a man work hard and it is her thriftiness which allows a family to accumulate money and achieve pros-
581 perity. A man will brag about his wife's ability to save money and a woman's potentiality for thriftiness is an important attribute to be considered in selecting a bride.